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On the Cover: Reproduction of the cover of W.W. Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children.*

FROM THE EDITOR...

This volume of *Children's Folklore Review* is a bit behind schedule, and it is my fault. I had the galleys of a book come back in September, and the publisher wanted them back before I left for the American Folklore Society meetings on October 24th. So, I put off the final editing of *CFR* for a few weeks. This issue, however, is a nice follow-up to the anniversary volume.

The volume leads off with Derek Van Rheenen's "Boys Who Play Hopscotch: The Historical Divide of a Gendered Space," an examination of a game now thought of as a girls' game which, historically, was also played by boys. Bjørg Kjær's "Childhood Narrated and Negotiated; Children's, Parents' and Teachers' Views on Childhood" examines the ways in which the three groups named in the title present themselves and their positions in their stories about what they do. In "Bedtime Stories," JoAnn Conrad describes the bedtime interactions between a mother and her child, revealing a great deal about both participants.

The volume also includes with Julia C. Bishop's "The State of Play: A Report on the Conference," a report on last year's conference at the University of Sheffield, England.

Having produced the special twentieth-anniversary issue, we could not quite go back to the format we had had before, and so volume 21, number 1, returns to the twice-a-year schedule but retains some of the features that we liked about the special issue. We are keeping the upgraded paper of the cover and the interior, and we are changing the cover illustration-now a reproduction of the cover of W. W. Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children.* We hope that you like the way *CFR* is developing-and we urge you to send your articles on children's folklore to this journal.

C.W. Sullivan III

BOYS WHO PLAY HOPSCOTCH: THE HISTORICAL DIVIDE OF A GENDERED SPACE

Derek Van Rheenen

As a child hops through a sketched diagram shaped like a cross, an airplane, a snail, careful not to tread on the forbidden lines, to enter the dragon's teeth, or step foot in hell, does the hopping participant contemplate what this mere amusement means? As the child strives to take ownership of his or her own space, ultimately attaining a place called sky blue, heaven, or paradise, what symbolic path has this child just traversed, what cultural meanings has he or she just produced? Am I reading too much between the lines to suggest that the modern game of hopscotch involves something more than mere amusement?

As the social practice of hopscotch represents a singular form of recreation, I believe it worthwhile to ask what cultural systems of meaning are both re-created and created anew through such social activities. Do these chalked boundaries of space suggest a particular course of social action, even in a space seemingly divorced from adult authority? If childhood represents a context within which social trajectories are traced, some doors open and others closed, what might this mere amusement tell us about the possibilities and constraints of social mobility? Are certain social spaces more open to boys than to girls, or vice versa? Is the gender order being recreated within these mere amusements, or do traditional games offer the possibility of creating something innovative, even a new social order? As games represent dynamic social practice, then it is imperative that we situate these games within the context of social power and culture historically.

To understand the multiple meanings attached to a social practice within contemporary culture, I believe it necessary to chronicle its particular historical development. By analyzing a social practice historically, it may be possible to surmise the developing relations of cultural production as groups and individuals construct meaning in their respective use of these practices. The traditional game of hopscotch can therefore be characterized as a social practice, a habitable text of cultural constraint

and possibility.[1] Weaving a path of cultural production, participants negotiate meaning across lines of social and physical space.[2] Once a game played predominantly by boys, hopscotch has undergone a historical transformation in both the sex of player participants, as well as in the subsequent cultural meanings attached to its gendered involvement. Thus, within the twentieth century, the socially constructed space of the hopscotch diagram has come to be marked as feminine, a cultural text inhabited primarily by preadolescent girls. Boys who play hopscotch today run the risk of being deemed effeminate, a stigmatized marking in a patriarchal society.

This essay attempts to examine the cultural meanings of gender as played out in the historical transformation of this children's game. Initially, I will discuss the ways in which traditional games, and the study of these games, intersect the social construction of gender and gender socialization. As these games are commonly classified in terms of the sex of their participants, research has tended to highlight the apparent differences between girls and boys. These differences have generally supported the reigning gender order. By examining the traditional game of hopscotch, this essay attempts to illustrate how the simple lines of a children's game have served to separate boys from girls, institutionalizing the binary construction of gender and sexuality within the twentieth century. And yet, as a malleable text enacted in local contexts, the historical practice of hopscotch likewise highlights the polysemic possibilities of gender production and meaning.

SEX DIFFERENCES AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Children experience themselves as belonging to distinct and dichotomous gender identities. These gender identities are based upon cultural systems of belief which generalize, and in turn naturalize, the appearance, behaviors, and thoughts of each sex. Children's play is but one of several interrelated activities which informs the cultural production of gender. By addressing the informal play of children, it is possible to witness the ways in which these active agents of culture participate in their own construction of gender.

According to Haraway, "'Gender' is at the heart of constructions and classifications of systems of difference. Complex differentiation and merging of terms for 'sex' and 'gender' are part of the political history of the words. Medical meanings related to 'sex' accrue to 'gender' in English progressively through the twentieth century" (130). However, the concept of gender appears to have developed in order to contest the naturalization of sexual difference and superiority. Thus, for Haraway, gender has the potential to both historicize and culturally relativize the analytical categories of sex or nature (134). In this capacity, gender represents the semiotic production of sexual subjectivity, embodied in "the history, practices, and imbrication of meaning and experience" (de Lauretis 167).

The situated practices of traditional games are often conceived of as a laboratory of social relationships (Knapp and Knapp, 1976; Sierra, 1995). As such, these games are thought to provide essential training in social interaction and development. But because traditional games are often categorized by the sex of the participant, numerous scholars have sought to differentiate between the sexes on the basis of their play preferences (Crosswell, 1898; McGhee, 1900; Terman, 1926; Lehman and Witty, 1927; Erikson, 1950; Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, 1961,1963; Lever, 1976, 1978). Much of this literature has relied on a transmission model of socialization, in which adults teach children particular social skills and capacities. This conception of socialization rests on humanist discourses which view the individual as unique, fixed, and coherent (Harre, 1985; Weedon, 1987; Davies; 1989). Within this paradigm, children represent passive recipients of this socialization, as they are pressed into a relatively fixed form (Waksler, 1986; Davies, 1989; Davies and Banks, 1992). In a social world polarized around a male/female dualism, sex/gender is conceived as primary to this essential form. As such, boys and girls enter into apparently discrete and non-contradictory categories of gender. As will be seen in the following section, the classification of traditional games by the sex of the participants has served to perpetuate this dualism, producing some troubling conclusions about the social construction of gender in modern society. And yet, as I demonstrate in the final section of this essay, this structured dualism likewise affords the possibility of cultural resistance and agency.

Jack And Jill At Play

In a popular nursery rhyme, Jack and Jill climb a hill together. In their effort to fetch a pail of water, they come tumbling down the hill, once again together. In describing children's games, however, young Jack and Jill are often separated.

Children's games have been categorized throughout history in terms of the sex of the participants. These games have traditionally been described as "the peculiar and particular property" of either boys or girls (Gomme, 1898). Two thousand years ago, Aristophanes mentions jacks as a game played by Greek girls, while Pollux describes an early form of Blind Man's Bluff played by Roman boys.[3] Gomme classifies games of children into the two broad categories of (i) dramatic games, and (ii) games of skill and chance, attributing the former to girls, the latter to boys. As a result of such classification schemes, Knapp and Knapp assert that girls' games generally require the mastery of extended, repetitious patterns of words and motions, while boys' games demand players to strategically improvise as the game progresses.

In general, then, the play of girls is often characterized as more passive and devoid of the elaborated structure inherent in boys' more strategic forms of play (Lehman and Witty, 1927; Piaget, 1932/1965; Lever, 1978; Sutton-Smith, 1972). Additionally, girls are said to demonstrate a more pragmatic and flexible orientation towards rules than are boys, who tend to be less willing to alter the rules in the middle of the game (Piaget, 1965; Gilligan, 1982). In preparation for adulthood, boys' games have been said to ready young men for success in the competitive working world of modern society, while girls' games and toys may serve to prepare these participants for the private sphere of the home and their future roles as wives and mothers (Lever, 1976; Seiter, 1993). In her survey of girls' toy advertisements within the twentieth century, Seiter suggests that these toys represent an "institutionalized" form of play, replicating the specific historical forms of women's domestic labor (74). In one example, an advertisement for Tootsietoy dollhouse furniture states that "the child is taught to play house and do as mother does at the age when impressions begin to mean so much" (Seiter 79). Like toys, traditional games have been heralded as a

means of developing particular social skills. Unfortunately, the common paradigm of contrasting girls' and boys' play forms has too often led scholars to categorize children into discrete and dichotomous sex roles, perpetuating the binary construction of an artificial gender divide.

In comparing the moral judgment of girls to boys, for example, Piaget concludes that "the legal sense is far less developed in little girls than in boys" (77). He bases this finding on the rule structure of select games, games which he characterizes as belonging primarily to either boys or girls. Adopting marbles as a representative boy's games, Piaget then chooses "one of the most primitive forms of the game of hide-and-seek" known by Swiss children as *ilet cachant,* to study the moral development of girls. Piaget acknowledges that he and his colleagues had first considered the game of *marelle* or hopscotch as representing the traditional play of girls, but asserts that the" game in itself is very simple and never presents the splendid codification and complicated jurisprudence of the game of marbles" (77). In discussing the game of hopscotch, Piaget writes,

> The few rules embodied in this game (not to put the other foot down, to make the pebble go into the right square with one kick, not to let the pebble stop on a boundary line, permission to rest in a special section called Heaven, etc.) show well enough how possible it would have been to complicate the game by constructing new rules on these initial data. Instead of which girls, though they are very fond of this game and play it much oftener than boys, have applied all their ingenuity in inventing new figures. For the game of Marelle exists in a multitude of forms; the sections drawn in chalk on the pavement succeed one another in a straight line, in parallel lines, in the shape of a spiral, a circle, an oval, of the pipe of a stove, etc. (77)

Thus, while these girls apparently demonstrate ingenuity in their creative production of game form, Piaget is interested primarily in the social relations which exist between the practice and consciousness of game rules.[4] He argues that the way in which children develop an understanding and respect for these game rules mirrors the way in which children develop a sense of social morality. This epistemological assumption forces Piaget to examine the particular rules of play inherent in these supposed girls' and boys' games. This poses some methodological

problems.

Concluding that the structure of hopscotch lacks complexity in strategic interaction and social negotiation, Pia get writes that "we decided to study a very simple game containing a minimum of rules and to try to find out up to what point girls look upon rules as obligatory" (70). One wonders whether Piaget's findings concerning the legal sense of little girls and little boys might have been qualitatively different had he chosen a more complex game than *ilet cachant* to represent the play of girls en masse.[5] By choosing a "simple game" to represent the rule practice and consciousness among little girls, it seems a fore drawn conclusion that these game participants will appear less developed in their strategic negotiation of rules. The rules of the game are in fact less complex. To extrapolate about gender differences in moral development from such data seems highly problematic.

Had Piaget opted to study hopscotch as the traditional game characteristic of girls' play, the methodology would remain problematic, but his findings might have provided some alternative results. As the work of Goodwin suggests, participants in the game of hopscotch actively collaborate in constructing the game of the moment. It is not merely the form of the hopscotch diagram which is creatively produced by game participants, as Piaget contends. Rules are constantly negotiated in dynamic social interaction. In support of this assertion, Sutton-Smith contends that "clearly one reason for [the game's] persistence is found in the freedom that children have felt to vary and complicate the rules" (1959: 198).

The relative complexity of rules varies from game to game and from one context to the next. This variation in rule practice remains a central characteristic of traditional games. The informal nature of these games suggests that the rules will not be strictly codified. In the informal play of children, then, there exists no fixed set of rules, no mechanical jurisprudence (Hart, 1961; Goodwin, 1995). Like the creative production of hopscotch form, the rules of the game are constructed in context, negotiated in order to accommodate the participants involved as well as enhance the game event at hand.

Thus, based upon her sociolinguistic study of a group of girls actively negotiating a round of hopscotch, Goodwin chal-

lenges previous game scholarship which asserts that boys' games are more complex than those of girls. While her criticism is certainly valid, Goodwin continues in the tradition of viewing children's games as gender specific. Neither Piaget nor Goodwin presents these traditional games as dynamic social practice-as cultural texts in social context-whereby the participants engaged within these social activities vary across time and geographic space. In the following section, then, I attempt to demonstrate the way in which a singular practice may be actively produced by both boys and girls. As the case of hopscotch illustrates, traditional games cannot be said to belong exclusively to either male or female participants. As such, findings which report seemingly natural differences between the sexes based upon play preferences more likely reflect the cultural construction of gender at a particular historical moment.

The Case of Hopscotch

A traditional game reproducing "traditional" gender values.

In the past decade, two children's magazines began publication in the United States: *Hopscotch: The Magazine for Girls* and *Quest: The Magazine for Boys.* Marketed for an audience of six to twelve year olds, "with youngsters eight, nine, and ten the specific target age," these magazines stress a gendered point of view. While one reviewer contends that "the writing is objective" and that there is no apparent religious or political slant to these magazines (Katz 132), the very names of these periodicals articulate an ideology of gender.

In the current climate when "traditional values" are so fervently touted by a large segment of American society,[6] the decision to adopt the traditional game of hopscotch as signifying traditional femininity seems telling. The message is clear. Playing hopscotch represents socially sanctioned (i.e., "normal" and "natural") behavior for preadolescent girls.[7] Conversely, *Quest: The Magazine for Boys* suggests that masculine boys will exhibit a frontier mentality of exploration and bravery.

Of course, these magazine titles may merely reflect the play preferences of late twentieth century boys and girls. As will be discussed in the following section, hopscotch has indeed come

to be characterized as a "girls' game" today. Boys, who played this traditional game more freely in the past, appear to prefer other activities today, particularly those which exploit the wide open spaces of playing fields (Thorne). But these titles may likewise promote expectations of gender behavior. Like Seiter's assertion that toy advertisements institutionalize the historic forms of women's domestic labor, might not the traditional game of hopscotch embody traditional values of male hegemony? As Goldenberg suggests, "Could this elaborate use of small spaces be one way little girls train to make maximum use of the restricted social territory in which they have to move when they grow up?" (263). This feminist interpretation of hopscotch may well support the cultural meanings connected to this traditional game today, but how might this same game be interpreted when practiced by boys? As the following discussion attests, hopscotch was once played almost exclusively by boys. Does the elaborate use of these small spaces by boys similarly reflect a limited social mobility for males, or have the gendered meanings of this social practice undergone a significant historical transformation?

Rugged Boys and Sissies

The traditional game of hopscotch was once played primarily, if not exclusively, by boys. Pliny describes a Roman game much like round hopscotch played by the boys of his day. Kiliaen (1574) reports that the game was generally known in the sixteenth century, played by Dutch boys. The game is featured in the literary works of Rabelais (1490-1553?), Fischart (15461590), and Basile (1575-1632), played by a male protagonist. In one of the earliest references to hopscotch found in England, there is mention in *Poor Robin's Almanack* (1667), of "the time when school-boys should play at Scotchhoppers" (Brand 331). Nearly two centuries later, Kennedy describes a Wexford (Irish) variant of hopscotch, asserting that "Rustic boys had a like game, which they called Heck-a-Beds" (608-9). The idea of hopscotch representing a practice engaged in by rustic boys seems to be reinforced by Guts Muths (1803), who includes hopping on one leg as one of the gymnastic activities promoted

within his practical guide to healthful and amusing exercises. He argues that hopping serves particularly to strengthen the lower limbs, as well as give elasticity to the entire frame. The resolution to jump over obstacles such as brooks and ditches was thought to enhance the character of rugged boys as they mature into virile and virtuous men. Guts Muths makes no mention of this gymnastic exercise practiced by girls. Perhaps this connection between hopping and rugged boys has most to do with Guts Muths' assertion that this" simple exercise ranks among the most violent." In highlighting the physical challenge of hopping on one leg, he writes that "the inexpert frequently cannot advance above the little distance of thirty steps: on the other hand, I have frequently seen robust, experienced boys hop on above eight hundred steps, over hillocks, holes, and wheelruts" (199).

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, a shift in game production seems to take place. Hopscotch becomes a social practice popular among both boys and girls. Culin suggests that "two distinct ways of playing this game exist among the children of Brooklyn: one common among boys and girls called 'Kick the Stone Out', and another, said to be exclusively played by girls, called 'Pick the Stone Up'" (229). Similarly, H. F. Feilberg reports that hopscotch in Denmark "seems common in the country too, played equally by boys and girls" (362). Sometimes together and sometimes separated, both boys and girls begin to participate in this social practice. De Vries asserts that" *Sowohl Knaben wie Mädchen beteiligen sich an diesen Spiel"* [Boys as well as girls take part in this game], but adds immediately that *"es scheint mir aber, dab heutzutage die Mädchen dem Spiel treurer geblieden sind, als die Jungen"* [it appears to me that girls have remained more interested in the game than have boys] (3).

In fact, the increased popularity of this game among girls during this historical period is striking. In their "Sixty Years of Historical Change in the Game Preferences of American Children," Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg contrast the results of four large-scale studies of children's games and find, among other things, that hopscotch gained in popularity with girls from 14th place in 1896, to 7th in 1921, and finally to 5th in 1959 (1961: 32). Similar shifts in game preference seem to have occurred world

wide. In Japan, for example, the popularity of hopscotch among girls gained from 39th position during the early Meiji period (1868-1883) to 6th during the late Shôwa period (1946-1973).[8] Thus, by the twentieth century, the widespread practice of hopscotch begins to be described specifically as a girl's game (Maclagan, 1901, 1905; Vanoverbergh, 1927; Frashëri, 1929; Parsons, 1936, 1945; Salas, 1947; Barnouw, 1956; Sutton-Smith, 1959, Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, 1961; Scheffler, 1976; Plath, 1986), an activity perhaps no longer befitting rugged boys of the past. Menendez, in discussing the Argentinean variants of Rayuela (hopscotch), states that *"Con respecto a la diferenciación de sexos, en algunos lugares la Rayuela es jugada exclusivamente por niñas; en otros es mixto. Nunca es eclusivamente masculino, yen ciertas partes jugarlo es considerado una actitud 'afeminada'"* [With respect to the differentiation of the sexes, in some places hopscotch is played exclusively by girls; in others it is mixed. Never is it exclusively masculine, and in certain places, to play it is considered an 'effeminate' act] (137).

These characterizations of hopscotch as distinctly feminine have altered the meaning of this widespread practice within the twentieth century. Rugged boys once played the game, but modern boys who cross the lines of the hopscotch grid run the risk today of being called "sissies" (from sister), or some cultural equivalent connoting effeminacy.[9] These designations, deemed culturally derogatory, have been reported from nearly every continent (De Vries, 1957; Sutton-Smith, 1959, Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, 1961; Menendez, 1963; Manilerd, 1986) within the twentieth century.[10] Such labels of contempt alert boys to the fact that only certain actions are socially sanctioned as appropriately "masculine," negatively reinforcing any deviation from such masculine practices. These same labels suggest to girls that those cultural productions deemed feminine become socially marked and marginalized.

And yet, as this brief historical analysis illustrates, the traditional game of hopscotch belongs neither to boys nor girls exclusively. As a dynamic social practice, hopscotch has become within the twentieth century a highly gendered space, a socially sanctioned space of femininity.[11] Thus, within the binary construction of the gender order, boys participating in purportedly "girls' game" become socially stigmatized. For as Rosenberg

and Sutton-Smith suggest, it was "much more deviant behavior for a modern boy to play at, say Dolls, Hopscotch, Jacks, Houses, Schools, Cooking, Jump rope, Musical chairs, Simon says, and Singing games than it was for a boy to play at these things in earlier historical periods. . . " (1961: 41). It seems evident that this behavior is deemed "deviant" within the twentieth century because these particular practices have become culturally feminized. For those stigmatized as sissies, the adage that boys will be boys takes on a coercive twist. The expression becomes an imperative rather than a statement signifying future perfection. Thus, the gendered space of the hopscotch grid simultaneously sanctions the cultural production of femininity while questioning the masculine development of its male participants.

In questioning boys' masculinity, notions of sexuality are "playfully" invoked, promoting an ideology of heterosexism and homophobia. As Lynne Segal has written, homophobia represses "the 'feminine' in all men [as] a way of keeping men separated off from women, and keeping women subordinate to men" (16). In a marked attempt to separate male from female, the active production of children's social worlds strongly discourages boys from engaging in practices perceived even remotely feminine. As a result, boys distance themselves from any games or activities which come to be equated with girls. In this way, children respond to the social pressure of conforming to the cultural definitions of appropriate and dichotomous gender roles by producing boundaries for their own social activities. In order to escape the apparent stigma attached to playing hopscotch, then, twentieth century boys have drawn further away from this social practice (De Vries, 1957; Sutton-Smith, 1959; Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, 1961; Knapp and Knapp, 1976; Thorne, 1993).[12]

As this historical sketch illustrates, the traditional game of hopscotch has come to be viewed today as a feminine form of action. As girls began to enter social spaces previously inhabited by young men within the nineteenth and twentieth century, boys appear to have distanced themselves from these previously male preserves. While the historical evolution of this traditional game is perhaps noteworthy, it tells us little about the potential factors which underlie the changing meanings of gender and sexuality within the twentieth century. In the following section,

then, I attempt to broadly examine the ways in which this singular practice has helped to reify gender as a binary social construction within the twentieth century. Focusing in particular on American forms of hopscotch, I address two sociological developments of the modern era which I believe have served to institutionalize the physical and social structure of the game today.

SOCIOLOGICAL TRENDS WITHIN 20TH CENTURY AMERICA

In the context of the United States, the rise of modern sport and the incorporation of recreation under institutional control has significantly altered the meaning of this traditional game. Both of these developments have led to an increased formalization of game structure as well as a more rigid separation of game participants by sex.

Men and the Sporting Culture

Modern sport may well represent one of the last strongholds of male power and superiority over—and separation from—the perceived "feminization" of American culture (Messner, 1987; Horowitz, 1987). The closing of the frontier, changes in the workplace, the family, and the educational system have all been cited as factors eroding the traditional bases of male privilege within the United States (Filene, 1975; Dubbert, 1979). In this context, organized sports has become a "primary masculinity-validating experience." Besides becoming a medium for adult male production and consumption, boys are often directed towards organized sports and other activities which articulate cultural definitions of masculinity. The creation of the Boy Scouts of America, Little League Baseball, and Pop Warner Football exemplify the way in which modern boys have been institutionally segregated from girls so as to develop a distinctly male gender identity.

As *Quest: The Magazine for Boys* suggests, modern boys are expected to explore and conquer a competitive world, perhaps opening new markets and opportunities. The sporting world provides a symbolic arena within which boys may prepare and

practice for adult forays into this competitive culture. Thus, institutionalized games such as baseball and football offer a cultural medium through which developing masculinity might further be validated. In this regard, sport serves to reinforce rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity as well as rationalize male domination. Like boys who are stigmatized as sissies for playing hopscotch, girls entering the arena of modern sport within the twentieth century have had to deflect accusations of lesbianism. For as Lenskyj asserts, "Athleticism is so clearly defined as a male attribute that its presence in women is automatically assumed to 'masculinize' her, if she was not 'masculine' at the outset" (1993:280). Ironically, a girl traversing a hopscotch diagram today, leaping over restricted boxes while balancing a marker upon the back of her hand, must demonstrate tremendous athleticism. However, this display of unquestioned athleticism in girls is seldom perceived as masculine.

Thus, as boys entered the male preserve of modern sport, girls appear to have taken primary ownership of the hopscotch diagram. As sport was perceived as culturally masculine, the social and physical space of the hopscotch diagram became readily identified as feminine. The spatial parameters of these very games could be said to reinforce these cultural meanings. While most sports require a larger expanse—a wide open terrain of fields, courts, and diamonds—the traditional game of hopscotch is played within a confined space. Given these requirements of physical space, sports tend to be played further from the home or school site than a game such as hopscotch, which is generally played in earshot of these physical structures. The physical mapping of these diverse activities suggests a similar mapping of social structure, particularly as it relates to a hegemonic gender order. Men are afforded greater social mobility than women, while women continue to be culturally positioned (and in turn, position themselves) in closer proximity to the home. Thus, this modern reading of hopscotch as feminine practice appears to be supported by its physical and social structure.

The names often given to the compartments of this traditional game seem to lend support to the argument that playing hopscotch prepares participants for domestic life, training modern girls to gain a certain mastery within this confined space.

Particular compartments within the diagram are often referred to as rooms (Brewster, 1945,1953; Sutton-Smith, 1972). The skillful player moves from one room to the next, obeying the responsibilities and restrictions associated with each room. In other cases, the small spaces of the hopscotch diagram are actually called houses (Hurgronje, 1905; Bancroft, 1937; Winslow, 1965; Lankford, 1992),[13] where the ultimate goal is to take ownership of one's own house. A girl becomes the master of her own house, a housewife, only after she has demonstrated skill and proficiency within this feminine course of action. But again, this gendered interpretation makes sense in describing modern forms of women's domestic labor, but does this same game train boys to become domestically skilled and/or confined? How might we explain boys' use and control of these symbolic spaces within previous centuries? Perhaps this shift in game preference highlights another shift in domestic control, where women are understood within the sexual division of labor to represent the modern masters of the house.

Institutionalizing game form and the gender order on the school playground

The structural equivalence created between hopscotch and femininity has been further reinforced by the incorporation of recreation into the American education system. This development towards institutionalized play within the twentieth century has changed the context within which traditional games are produced. Previously referred to as a street or sidewalk game (Culin, 1891; Douglas, 1931; Salas, 1947; Fraser, 1975), the depiction of a painted hopscotch diagram onto the school playground has appeared to formalize both its physical and social structure.

Based on participant observation of nine- to eleven-year-old children in four elementary schools, Thorne and Luria found that gender segregation is central to the daily lives of American school children. So central in fact is this segregation that these authors speak of separate boys' and girls' worlds. This separation by gender seems even more pronounced on the playground, where adults are less able to exert control and children are relatively free to choose their own activities and companions. This tendency to select gender-specific games on the school

playground has similarly been reported elsewhere. In a study of Thai children's games, Anderson (1973) found that games deemed exclusively feminine or masculine were played much more frequently at school than in the home neighborhood. Thus, in the United States and abroad, it appears that girls and boys play together much more readily away from the school setting, and seem willing to play games at home or in their neighborhoods which their same-sex peers would preclude at school. Thus, the incorporation of recreation into the schoolday beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has appeared to segregate the sexes in their play activities, contributing to the social construction of a gender divide.

The fact that playgrounds have "a more fixed geography of gender" suggests that children actively participate in the production of their own gender identities (Thorne 44). And yet, the playground itself remains a school-sanctioned space. As such, schools have formalized the physical fields of play available to children. While many of these decisions rest upon the limitations of real estate and the desire for functional order, these decisions significantly alter the cultural production of children. Concerning the traditional game of hopscotch, school authorities these days commonly paint a diagram (or perhaps a few of the same diagram) upon the playground blacktop. Presented as the basic form of this polymorphous practice, this painted and semipermanent diagram represents a design repossessed from children by adult authority, a painted form which potentially limits the freedom of children's play and innovation. This process of incorporating an informal game into the more formalized school setting has led many children around the world to refer to the modern 'game of hopscotch as "school" or "classes" (Byleeva and Grigoriev, 1985; Vsevolodski-Gerngross, 1987; Duran, 1995). In Russia, for example, Gorbunov, Efimov and Efimova (1994: 101) report that the name of *classes*, given to certain versions of the game of hopscotch, only appears after the 1930s. Thus, the incorporation of this traditional game into the school setting within the twentieth century appears to have altered the names that children attribute to this social practice.

The painting of a relatively fixed form on the school playground may in fact discourage children from participating in this traditional game altogether. In discussing the play of Scot

tish children, Nielsen and Roberts report that "perhaps as a matter of policy linked to the Best Kept School award [sic], the only hopscotch beds in today's playgrounds have been painted by benevolent authority. 'Beddies' is not much played in Aberdeen now: *pre-decorated playground surfaces do not interest children for long"* (34, my italics). As their own production is stripped from them, children are expected to passively consume the games offered to them by school authorities. However, children are not merely passive recipients of adult socialization. As skillful social agents, children may ignore these adult designs or they may reassert their own productive and creative capabilities.

Thus, the structural constraints placed upon these games by adults may be actively resisted. It is not uncommon for children to add to the painted diagram, or bypass the school-sponsored form and draw their own hopscotch diagram.[14] In this way, children produce their own structure for play. By not playing within the school-sanctioned hopscotch diagram, simultaneously defacing school property in order to assert an alternative identity, children risk getting into trouble with adults. Ritchie reports one child's concerns about drawing hopscotch ("Peevers" or "Beddies" in Scotland) diagrams at school: "In ma last school ye got the belt for drawin' peever beds in the playground. Fae the heidmaister tae! . . . At Abbeyhill ye could play peevers in the playground but the jannie was a moanin" (109). Despite these risks and threats of physical punishment, children continue to produce their own possibilities for play. In active resistance to adult authority, children sketch their own creations of this traditional game on the blacktop surface. It should be added, however, that these acts of resistance against the school-sanctioned game diagram or *physical structure* is a different kind of resistance than children challenging the *social structure* embedded within this particular practice. Children may produce their own hopscotch design as an act of cultural resistance while simultaneously reproducing the binary and hierarchical construction of gender.

This does not mean that the social structure embedded within these social practices cannot also be challenged. In fact, boys continue to play the game of hopscotch today, despite incriminations against entering into this stigmatized space.[15] Thus,

even within late twentieth century America, the feminized practice of hopscotch should not be labeled a "girls' game." However, in order to more fully examine how both boys and girls interpret their use of/production within, and distance from, this particular practice, children must be made the living units of analysis. In order to accomplish this task, however, we must merge culturally texted studies with ethnographically grounded studies. One possible means of adopting this ethnographic approach in relation to this work would be to focus on those boys who continue to engage in this social practice despite its gendered marking. In the following section, then, I tentatively advance three types of social actor: tykes, teasers, and cultural resisters. While the following brief section is presented solely as a prelude to more detailed ethnographic work, I do draw from informal observations witnessed on school playgrounds within the San Francisco Bay Area.

BOYS WHO PLAY HOPSCOTCH: TYKES, TEASERS, AND CULTURAL RESISTORS

The majority of boys who participate in the social practice of hopscotch appear to be several years younger on average than the preadolescent girls playing the game. These boys, whom I affectionately call the tykes, often play along side these older girls, representing perhaps a younger brother, cousin, or next door neighbor of one of the female participants. Boys appear to enter this social and physical space at around the same age as little girls, but they stop playing the game much earlier. Both boys and girls at the age of five or six seem interested in the gymnastic challenge of traversing the hopscotch diagram. Girls, however, seem to retain their interest in this traditional game until the age of twelve or so. Boys, on the other hand, move away from this social space after a relatively short period of time, often as they enter formalized schooling. Few boys older than seven or eight years of age appear interested in the game of hopscotch today. As demonstrated above, this period of time corresponds generally with an increased segregation among the sexes, a segregation seemingly institutionalized within the school setting. Similarly, as boys begin to experience masculine valida

tion through competitive sports, joining organized, same-sex football, baseball and soccer teams, the hopscotch diagram is left behind.

Nonetheless, older boys occasionally enter the hopscotch terrain. The reasons for their participation may be quite different, however. Some boys, whom I refer here to as the teasers, invade the marked and feminized space of the hopscotch diagram in order to disrupt the play of girls. The ambivalence of wanting to be a part of the girls' activity while wishing to articulate difference often translates into a type of teasing. This teasing is most prevalent on the playground rather than in a neighborhood setting, where the stigma attached to playing the game is not so severe. The teasing associated with the game of hopscotch is generally for the benefit of other boys, a way of reinforcing the segregation of girls' and boys' social worlds. A boy may try to make fun of the girls' practices, exaggerating what he believes to be their feminine course and style of action. These teasing boys are actively adopting gender as a resource for their creative and reproductive play. By reinforcing the gender divide on this physical plane, male hegemony is further entrenched into the dominant discourse of culture.

Occasionally, however, an older boy will join a round of hopscotch in apparent disregard for the social stigma attached to it. He enters the game as a willing participant without the intent to tease or taunt. These individual deviations actively challenge the binary construction of sex/ gender, and as such, I call these boys cultural resistors. In their cultural production of play, these boys resist the social structure embedded within this game, thus challenging the dominant meanings of masculinity and femininity. While these boys may be labeled sissies for their social action, they likewise serve a critical role in validating the masculinity of their social critics. In a sense, then, their very presence on the playground helps to perpetuate the gender order, while highlighting the tenuousness of these social constructions. And yet, these same boys awaken the promise of cultural possibility, a release from structural constraint. The contradiction of their cultural production suggests that gender is clearly marked within the confines of this traditional game. As a dynamic social practice, hopscotch embodies these cultural

and physical markings. For while the lines of the game diagram compartmentalize physical space, the social structure of the game tends to reproduce the binary construction of gender within the twentieth century, simultaneously affording room for social resistance.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In tracing the historical transformation of hopscotch, this essay has sought to illustrate how a traditional game, once played primarily by boys, has come to signify a feminine course of action within the twentieth century. A game once played by rugged boys, hopscotch has become today a stigmatized space, where manly boys dare not tread. Thus, by creating the structural parameters of a hopscotch diagram, negotiating the method and tenor of play, children actively participate in their own construction of gender. For as children divide their environment into chalked boxes for apparent amusement, they likewise divide the sexes into cultural categories of gender. As children enter into this marked and confined space, they face a divided landscape of gendered terrain. At play, these children work through these socially constructed confines, confronting other cultural possibilities of game and gender form.

There is space within these traditional games to play with social divisions, to resist the imposition of social structure. In order to investigate these new forms of cultural production, however, it is imperative to view children as active social agents. On a daily basis, on school blacktops and in their own backyards, children (re)create culture. As adults, we need to keep these blacktops and backyards open, free from the bias of a grown-up perspective. By celebrating rather than controlling the range of youthful production, we learn from children not only about our own rich histories but also about a future of endless possibilities.

University of California, Berkeley

NOTES

1. This notion of viewing games as habitable texts challenges the fixed nature of games as socializing agents, where the structure of the

game itself determines player and personnel strategy. **In** this sense, the subjective reading of hopscotch as a habitable text returns the cultural production of meaning to the player him- or herself. Simultaneously, however, the structural imposition of meaning upon a particular reading will likewise affect player experience and production. The idea of as "open" text (Eco 1989) has been the subject of considerable interest within literary criticism. Of note here is Julio Corbizar's revolutionary 1963 publication of *Rayuela* (translated as *Hopscotch* in 1966), in which he encourages the reader to participate in the production of the novel. Cortazar suggests two possible ways of reading the novel. The first, which he associates with the "female reader," is to read the novel in the normal or passive fashion from beginning to end. The second, which he attributes to the "male reader," takes control (as led by Cortazar himself) of the novel's order by reading chapters in alternative sequence. As might be expected, Cortazar's sexist imposition of just what constitutes a male and female reading drew a great deal of criticism. In an interview with Evelyn Picon Garfield, he responds to this criticism with an apology to women worldwide:

> I ask pardon of the women of the world for the fact that I used such a "machista" expression so typical of Latin American underdevelopment. . . . I did it innocently and I have no excuse. But when I began to hear the opinions of my friends, women readers who heartily insulted me, I realized that I had done something foolish. I should have put "passive reader" and not "female reader" because there's no reason for believing that females are continually passive. They are in certain circumstances and are not in others, the same as males. (Garfield 108)

While Cortazar's terminology is reflective of a sexist gender ideology, the suggestion that men and women, boys and girls, may read themselves into a cultural text differently provides an interesting point of departure for this paper, as the cultural production of hopscotch varies in time, place, and game participant.

2. Space refers here to both the physical plane as well as the social relations existing within and across that physical plane. I borrow here from the work of Bourdieu (1990), Massey (1991), and Lefebvre (1991) in my own understanding of space. In discussing the connection between social and physical space, Massey contends that "Social relations always have a spatial form and a spatial content, they exist necessarily both in space (i.e., in locational relations to other social phenomenon) and across space. And it is the vast complexity of the interlocking and articulating nets of social relations which is social

space" (12). In terms of this paper, I am particularly interested in Lefebvre's notion of social space. He writes that "Social space is the outcome of past actions that permit fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others, while prohibiting yet others" (73).

3. This boisterous game for boys was called "Bronze Fly." Pollux writes, "They bind a boy's eyes with a headband, and he is turned round and round calling out, 'I will chase the bronze fly.' The others answer, 'You will chase him, but you won't catch him.' They hit him with paper whips until he catches one of them" (9.123). The game of Blindman's Buff was known as Hoodman Blind during the Elizabethan times. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* Hamlet says to his mother:

> What devil was't
> That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman blind? (III.4.76-77)

4. Piaget defines the practice of rules as "the way in which children of different ages effectively apply rules," while the consciousness of rules refers to the way in which" children of different ages form [sic] the character of these games rules, whether of something obligatory and sacred or of something subject to their own choice, whether of heteronomy or autonomy" (14-15).

5. In fairness to Piaget, he himself poses the question whether this gender "difference [is] due to the somewhat loosely knit character of the game of 'ilet cachant' or to the actual mentality of little girls." His answer, however, is not all that persuasive as he dismisses a very real methodological problem while making sweeping generalizations about all "girls' games." He writes: "Both of these suppositions probably amount to the same thing, since we noticed that *all* girls' games are marked by this polymorphism and tolerance (83, my italics).

6. In this statement of philosophy, the publishers of *Hopscotch for Girls* and *Boys' Quest* list as their first goal the desire to "Instill traditional family values in elementary age girls and boys."

7. In a telling article entitled "The Hopscotch Girl," Patricia Foster provides a personal narrative of her own troubled childhood. The abstract for this article states that "Her resurfacing desire is to see herself as a natural, hopscotch-playing, carefree girl." The connection between "natural" femininity and playing hopscotch provides yet another glimpse into the use of this practice within literature and popular culture as signifying "traditional" girlhood. Concerning popular culture, in two of the Best Picture nominees for the 1996 Academy Awards, *The English Patient* (which won) and *Shine*, young girls are

depicted playing hopscotch. As these blockbuster films target an international audience today, a widespread practice such as hopscotch fits nicely into both films' global readability. While these scenes may be peripheral to the main story, the visual message remains clear: girls play hopscotch.

8. Within the folklore archives at the University of California, Berkeley, one informant, Joseph Young (as collected in 1969 by his daughter, Irene Young of Los Angeles) recalls playing hopscotch in New York City during the 1930s, suggesting that boys played hopscotch while girls played a similar game they called potsie (potsy). Young remembers that girls and boys played this similar game separately. Another informant, Barbara Altman (as collected by her daughter, Gail Altman of Huntington Beach), recalls playing the game with other girls in her neighborhood in the Bronx, New York, stating that "boys never played potsy." Thus, it appears that certain versions were more commonly played by girls while others were more likely practiced by boys, or boys and girls together. From the above references, it seems as if Clum's description of "Pick the Stone Up" might be related in some way to potsy, versions of the game which appear to be almost exclusively played by New York City girls.

9. The game preferences of Japanese children are chronicled in the *Encyclopedia Nipponico,* 1984: 352-53.

10. It is possible in previous times, when the game was played primarily by boys, that girls who attempted to participate in this social practice were also stigmatized, ridiculed for being too masculine. I have found no evidence to support this claim however.

11. This has similarly been reported by numerous informants within folklore archives world wide. Informant Samuel Lewis reports that this game came into his life about 1910 in San Francisco through a girl a few years older than he and his friends. Lewis adds, however, that "we regarded it as a sissy's game." Another informant, Diane Canning of Sunnyvale, California, states that she asked her brother if he knew what hopscotch was and if he ever played the game. He said, "Are you kidding? That's for girls!" This notion that hopscotch was popular among girls and avoided by boys has been reported world wide, from Norway (Tom Arne Lunne, Oslo, 1950) to Taiwan (Robert Huang, Tai Chung, ca. 1952; Helen Chan, 1975), from France (Anouch Chanazariaun, 1957) to Pakistan (Taki Tejami, Karachi, 1943), and from Israel (Tiva Pelter, 1965) to Ethiopia (Daniel Taruku, Dessie, 1970). The use of designations such as sissy, fag, or queer is relatively common in the informal activities of children within the twentieth century. In the

popular game of "Smear the Queer," also known in the United States as "Bag the Fag," "Tag the Fag," "Cream the Queer," etc., a player throws or kicks a ball into the air and everyone chases and tackles whoever catches it. The brave lad who picks up the ball and runs from the others is purportedly "queer." Ironically, however, the longer this player can last without being tackled and mauled by the other boys, the more masculine the queer is deemed to be. This game tends to be most popular among elementary and junior high school boys, a game played at roughly the same ages as hopscotch is played by girls today. Thus, peer socialization around issues of gender and sexuality appear particularly pronounced among preadolescent children. For an interesting discussion of how the game of Smear the Queer fits into an underlying cultural paradigm of ritualized homosexual behavior evident in male-to-male sports and games, see Alan Dundes' "The American Game of 'Smear the Queer' and the Homosexual Component of Male Competitive Sport and Warfare," *Parsing through Customs,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press (1987): 178-94.

12. I borrow from Lenskyj here in defining femininity as "the socially constructed components of female identity: behavior, attitudes and practices, which, by focusing on sex differences, serve as outward and visible signs of women's sexual, social and economic subordination to men" (381). This social subordination may in part explain why low status boys within all-male peer groups are sometimes called girls or sissies.

13. An active male agent who crosses the gender divide indeed risks social ostracism from other children, as the label of sissy or queer confirms. Many of the names given to hopscotch variants around the world may elucidate this cultural ambivalence with the appropriate sex of this games participants. In Spain, for example, two variants of the game, *Reina Mora* and *Pata Coja,* suggest this possible ambivalence. *Reina Mora* can be directly translated as Queen Mora, most likely in reference to a Moorish queen associated with the Moors' invasion and occupation of Spain throughout this European country's history. But, as in the English speaking world, a "queen" can also refer to a homosexual man, particularly an effeminate gay man. Thus, a boy who plays the queen runs the risk of being thought more comfortable with "female" rather than "male" characteristics and pastimes.

Similarly, the name *Pata Coja* may be loosely translated as either "Bent leg" or "Hopping (Female) Duck," which seems logical given the movements of participants engaged in this children's game. But the term *pata* (leg or female duck) may likewise refer to a gay man in many Central and Latin American countries. The term *pata* derives, it would seem, from the Latin word *pater,* or father, or even from *pato* to *pata*

(male to female duck) suggests that this masculine symbol, and the corresponding suffix "o," has been castrated and replaced by the feminine "a." Thus, a Spanish slang term which connotes a feminized male symbol depicts this gendered children's game.

Finally, a North American variant, found particularly on the east coast of the United States, bears the name potsie or less commonly patsie (Goldenberg, 1993). This term has come to mean both the overall game of hopscotch, as well as the marker used by children as they throw or kick it through the various compartments of the chalked diagram. But there exists a similar folk expression which seems to have evolved within the twentieth century, the description of an individual, usually male, who is called a "patsy." This term refers to "a dupe or fall guy" *(A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* 1984), or, even more specific to this argument, "a weak or cowardly man" *(Dictionary of American Slang* 1967). The etymology of this folk expression remains uncertain, although it begins to appear in print only within the current century. One reference to the slang expression appears in 1953, in which William Gloves writes, "You can hardly call a patsy a hero" (AP, May 11).

Is it not possible that the derivation of the English expression "patsy" comes directly from the worldwide children's game of hopscotch? As this term refers to both the overall game as well as the marker used within the game, might it not likewise refer to a boy who plays this evolving "feminine" pastime? A boy who plays hopscotch risks maturing into a "weak or cowardly man," a patsy. Gloves' oppositional use of the folk term patsy with a hero similarly suggests that what once might have represented a male initiation rite (see chapter 3) has now become the feminine antics of a cowardly man or patsy.

If the gendered interpretation of this modern folk expression seems reaching to the reader, we can more safely assert that a potsie or patsie indeed represents the marker used within this children's game. As this marker is thrown and kicked about, it becomes the central instrument or tool of use by the players. The folk term patsy similarly refers to an individual easily kicked about, a mark used for the benefit of others. Thus, the folk expression of a patsy may well have evolved out of this mere "child's play," commonly known within the English speaking countries as hopscotch.

14. This idea of taking ownership of one's own compartment or house within the game of hopscotch has been reported world wide. Foreign informants to the UC Berkeley Folklore Archive have similarly reported this phenomenon. Examples include Maria del Carmen Infante (Rosario, Argentina, 1952), Cherrymae King (Belize City, Belize, 1964), Daniel Tariku (Dessie, Ethiopia, 1970), Tacio Myriantheus (Athens, Greece, 1967), Momo (Liberia, 1986), Thanhdung Nguyen (Saigon,

Vietnam, ca. 1972), Liza Bird (Teheran, Iran, ca. 1956), and more. It is worth noting that this process of obtaining private property within the hopscotch diagram as a result of successful play, thereby forbidding others to set foot into this terrain, has been found in both capitalist and socialist economies around the world.

15. Several informants to the DC Berkeley Folklore Archive have discussed the making of their own hopscotch diagrams onto the school playground. Karen Kresich Davis (Berkeley, 1975) reports of her sister's (informant Joan Kresich Icanberry) play during the 1950s: "My sister remembers that there were some hopscotch looking games painted on the playground at school. These were not right for the game she played, however, so she had to draw her own game." Nancy Mitchell (Redwood City, California, 1982) reports that "a certain number of hopscotch squares were painted on the cement at the school, but sometimes girls would bring chalk to draw more." Gilda Fong (Oakland, California, 1956) states that "if hopscotch squares were in use at the playground, then we would draw our own squares with white chalk on the ground." Other informants report adding to the school sponsored hopscotch diagram: one fourth grader (collected from V. Silver ton, 1969) adds that "the greatest part of the Hopscotch figure is painted on the playground, with the numbers. The girls take chalk and draw a circle at the end [of the diagram] and number it."

16. It should be noted here that the game of hopscotch still appears to be played by boys in some cultures without this apparent stigma. Sierra reports, for example, that the game is primarily played by boys in the Tarascan and Zapotec cultures of Mexico. In Ireland, Brady reports that "the number of boys to be seen playing *Beds* has increased considerably lately: a few years ago only the girls played *Beds"* (153). These case are interesting as they seem to contradict the cultural feminization of this widespread children's game within the twentieth century. These cases similarly suggest that this particular practice possesses no inherent connection to one sex or the other, and that the meanings associated with the game of hopscotch shift both historically and cross-culturally. Nonetheless, these cases seem to be the exception rather than the rule of practice. From Australia to Argentina, from Thailand to Holland, from Korea to California, the social practice of hopscotch has generally become associated with girls today. I am most interested here in how children both reproduce and resist the gender order, as embodied in this dynamic social practice.

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CHILDHOOD NARRATED AND NEGOTIATED: CHILDREN'S, PARENTS' AND TEACHERS' VIEWS ON CHILDHOOD

Bjørg Kjær

In this paper I shall demonstrate how different approaches to childhood interact with the childhood narratives of children, parents, and school teachers. Childhood is narrated and constructed by different agents. In Pierre Bourdieu-terms we have a field of agents, discussing the definition of the Child. In this discussion, professionals have striven to achieve orthodoxy, i.e. the privilege of being experts whose utterances have more power than those of others.

THE DANISH CONTEXT

In the Nordic countries and especially in Denmark, childhood has become extremely institutionalized and professionalized during the last thirty years. Today we have a large labor market related to children, and childraising has become a matter for professionals as well as parents.

Most Danish children attend daycare within their first year of living as 90% of all mothers are in the labor market. So the concept of the Child is a very important category which functions as an archimedic point in the process of defining specific professional groups as well as parenthood in general. The public debate has frequently returned to the question of who should influence and leave their mark on children. In the seventies, there was a moral panic about indoctrination of school-children, which created a taboo in relation to the role of professional upbringers. They were expected to be teaching "facts" and useful competences like reading, writing, calculating, etc. But it was also expected that teachers would train children's independence and improve their abilities to participate in a democratic society; at least this is an implicit formulation in the text of the school legislation. *So*, as a teacher, one must both teach "facts" and "attitudes."

The questions of what are "facts" and what are "attitudes" has been rather obscure in the public debate, and the demand for neutrality has forced teachers to emphasize and make visible their teaching, and play down their personal opinions and values, even though the latter is an important part of teaching democracy.

METHODS

In this context I have studied how children, parents and teachers *tell* childhood. I have done so partly by means of interviews and partly by fieldwork. The former I rather prefer to call conversations or dialogues with people. The latter I would call folkloristic fieldwork, i.e. on the basis of my cultural competence I get into dialogues and interactions with adults and children. Being a part of the Danish culture myself, I have striven for no kind of neutrality. Rather, I have sought to expose the context-bound dynamics of communication in relation to children and their upbringing.

I have been faced with the well-known dilemma of not being able to ask the informants about what I wanted to know because I wanted to obtain materials which would provide more than just examples of what I could think of in advance. So, instead of making questionnaires, I spoke with the informants about themes in relation to my interests. We spoke about children and adults, about play and school, about toys and joys, about the past, present, and future. I also spoke with the children and interacted with them in different ways, and I spent time with them, just observing. And those observations included adults interacting with children. I see this fieldwork partly as a way of producing social reality by means of my person and partly as a way of observing (this) social reality.

THE TEACHERS

On the basis of Sandra Dolby Stahl's study of personal narratives, I have interpreted the dialogues between me and the informants (Kjær 1997) in relation to communication strategies

and the use of style and narrative sequences of different kinds.

In short, teachers tell in generalized terms, they express themselves as having official capacities as experts with authority deriving from their training. They tell no personal narratives, but many "scientific truths" about children's nature. But they do not just hide behind authority. They also express very deep personal involvement in their work. In this personal involvement they make use of their childhood memories in two ways: 1) They tell pupils about their own childhood experiences in order to establish a close relationship with them, and 2) They refer to their own childhoods to aid in evaluating contemporary children's competences, needs, and possibilities. I shall give an example to illustrate the type of dilemma that teachers have to deal with. This teacher tells about the teacher-pupil relationship.

> Per: "There has to be a fundamental joint trust, namely, that both of us are basically fond of each other. And I don't say 'respect' one another. I say: are fond of each other."
>
> Bjørg: "What then if you're not fond of somebody? Did you ever experience that?"
>
> Per: "No. There's no reason not to be fond of them. What reason would that be?"
>
> Bjørg: "Maybe you are just not fond of some people."
>
> Per: "Yes, but I feel differently. And I know that I do. Otherwise I couldn't be a teacher. My task. . . is to see that there is a person who needs knowledge. And I must give knowledge to that human being. Because if I don't do that, I've let him or her down."

This teacher expresses deep devotion and personal involvement in order to explain his obligations towards the children. It is a contemporary version of a classic nineteenth-century con

cept of devotion. This concept is closely connected with the very shaping of the professional teacher, who emerged as a skilled person in this historical period. This devotion is about morality, affection, and openness in relation to any human being that walks through the door of the classroom. This very sentence I just quoted, "Because if I don't do that, then I've let him or her down," is a strong statement of human commitment. But it ends in a totally different style, like this:

> Per: "And by the way, I get paid for it."

This illustrates the tension between, on the one hand, the teacher's self-image based on devotion, and, on the other hand, external demands for professional capacity to act in standardized and predictable ways in order to be fair to all children and trustworthy to the surroundings. This tension demands devotion and personal commitment from the teacher-but at the same time it taboos the limits of such a deep personal involvement. So the teacher has to say that his disliking a pupil is not a possibility.

We have two lines of argumentation: 1) the personally committed and emotionally expressed way of telling, and 2) the professionally distanced and intellectually expressed way of telling. And these two lines of argumentation never meet. The teachers jump abruptly from one to the other. In this movement between the discourses, the image of childhood functions as a legitimizer and explanation. As a teacher, one is supposed to love all children because they are assumed to be alike-i.e. childish. On the other had, because children are alike, one can generalize in scientific ways about them.

THE PARENTS

Parents tell childhood in very personal ways. This is in complete accord with their culturally-defined roles as intimately related to and attached to their children. They would be bad parents if they spoke otherwise. They tell many personal narratives and identify strongly with their sons and daughters as they recollect their own childhood experiences. But the picture is

quite ambiguous because the parents also use scientific concepts and knowledge when narrating their children. All of the parents use developmental psychology to explain and describe children in general and their own children in particular. When the offspring are discussed, parents mention, for instance, the importance of play and sport activities for children's mental and intellectual development, implicitly drawing on psychological research showing a connection between the two.

The Swedish ethnologist Karl-Olov Arnstberg (1987) describes how psychology as a scholarly discipline has led to the growth of a popular psychology living side by side with authorized psychology. According to Arnstberg, psychology offers personally based causal explanations which appear to be universal and place the individual in a larger context without de-individualizing him or her. This is why scientific psychology is used in everyday life. The conceptualization of childhood gives the personal interpretations a touch of science. Especially in this field of childhood and child raising, the question of right and wrong is attached to scientific results.

So these parents' interpretations of children are marked by the scientifically legitimated discourse of public professional childcare. Today, most parents are in contact with daycare institutions very early in their parental career, as part of child raising is moved from a private to a public space when the child is about one year old. Ideals, norms, dreams, and hopes, which can differ a lot, are narrated and negotiated in an arena where the intimacy of the family must communicate with professional competence. The reference to developmental psychology makes the parents' argumentation appear scientific in a way that signifies their mastery of the prestigious codes concerning children and their development. This style of well-informedness aims at mastering the professional code in order to make it possible for the parents to express their own opinions. The parents do not necessarily take over scientific frames of reference uncritically. Rather, they create a tradition of parenthood and childhood on the basis of a scientific discourse. They use this scientific discourse in refiguring their own wishes, norms, and morals in much the same way as they use their childhood memories.

THE CHILDREN

I am going to introduce you to three boys in a kindergarten. They are best friends, sometimes referred to as "The Three Musketeers"—just to give you some idea of the character of their friendship. For about two years, these boys have been busy telling and playing endless Spiderman stories. They go on for hours, days, and weeks. Conscientiously they have been doing their "homework" as they have watched the Spiderman TV Show every Friday afternoon. They have made their parents videotape the shows, they have invited each other home to watch the tapes, and they have rehearsed and discussed conflicts and characters in the show.

The teachers do not think Spiderman is in good taste. They consider it to be of poor quality and violent, primitively repeating a stereotyped dichotomy between good and evil. The boys use Spiderman in at least three ways:

1. It keeps the adults at a distance, whereby the boys gain complete control. Here it is of great help that teachers loathe Spiderman!

2. It serves as a good source for the creativity of the boys, as the characters are used, transformed, discussed, and elaborated in narratives and play.

3. It forms a critique of cultural notions in the adult world. The boys use Spiderman to insist on the existence of good and evil—and they insist on the importance of their own judgments, which are far from stereotyped.

Let me elaborate a bit on the last point. In contemporary Denmark, the dichotomy of good and evil is, in a way, non-existent. To be more precise: it has been transformed into a dichotomy of good and sick (or good and pathological) (d. Frykman 1993). This dichotomy of good and sick is a contemporary way of conceptualizing human suffering by relating to evil not as an explanation, as in premodern or religious contexts, but as some-

thing that has to be explained.

In this process of explaining evil, professional caregivers, teachers, social workers, etc. play an important role. A child cannot be just evil, bad, unpleasant or disagreeable. The badness of the child has to be explained in terms of external influences such as events, which have made a healthy, normal child turn into a pathological one. This process of making evil dissolve into social, psychological, and societal circumstances is practiced by professional upbringers of all kinds and has become part of Danish common sense, a "truth" taken for granted.

But by using Spiderman characters in playing and telling, these boys insist on the existence of evil. The pedagogues cannot accept such a standpoint since their professional identity is closely linked to the explanation of evil in order to make it disappear and make the malfunctioning child normal again.

In these three different ways of narrating and defining childhood we can see that all of them implicitly or explicitly relate to the private-professional dichotomy, and negotiate the appropriate frame of reference. To my mind the different, distinct adult modes of telling the child must be understood together as a whole. The messages of private and professional utterances are important to understand some basic cultural notions in contemporary Denmark.

I consider this tension between modes of utterances to be a reflection of an ideology of social life. It is an ideology which connects professional competence to both authority and morality. The greater the professional competence, the greater the authority and moral habitus. That which is formed as rational, scientific, neutral truths are as a matter of fact utterances about morals, attitudes, and values.

Actually, the study of children's expressions is an eye-opener in pointing to these truths for what they are: cultural notions about the nature of children.

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BEDTIME STORIES
JoAnn Conrad

Conventional ethnographies portray a reality with limited complexity—from the singular perspective of the ethnographer observing the object engaged in events external to the observer. The multiple voices or personalities of the ethnographer are never invoked nor is the complex relationality of the object(s) and the ethnographer(s) to each other and to their situatedness in a context that is dynamic and dependent on their presence. In contrast to such ethnographies, in this article it is the process of investigation into the central question—the puzzle concerning the nature of the mother-child relationship—that is the main diegesis. This is a description; an investigation into the parallel, complex emotional relationship between a mother and child; an unfolding of the intertwined development of two characters' feelings and sometimes conflicted emotions, probing into the nature of the relationship of the characters in which the historical and psychological depths of that relationship are revealed. In unraveling the nature of this relationship, the rigid, separate and hierarchical polarity of other and self (ethnographer) is deconstructed. There is, in fact, no simple monolithic self to act as a referent to an equally monolithic other. The revelation undermines the construction of such an other and uncovers the dilemma inherent in the entire ethnographic enterprise which masquerades as representation. The inevitable categorization, distillation and oversimplification of reality in any such representation belies its complexity.

In this ethnographic enterprise, the mother's questions on the nature of close relations parallel, reflect, and illuminate the son's stories. The development of the sensibilities of the characters in the piece is brought out in their juxtaposition—reflecting as well as motivating one another. Following the search for understanding into the deepening sensibilities of both characters *is* the main story line—anchored in no time or space other than that of the characters themselves. Here time and space are reorganized to maximally illustrate the search, and yet the puzzle that is the nature of the relationship remains unsolved. Rather that being provided with a description or portrait of "reality," we have in the multi-layered interaction between

mother and child a powerful analogy for the complexities and unresolved questions that are, perhaps, the nature of existential reality. In the play of surface and depth, the particular and apparently trivial moments of story telling are transcended, and through the allegory of the local and incidental lend substance to another level—the anecdotes themselves and the descriptions of story telling episodes overflowing their own boundaries.

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It's early morning. I lie awake in bed staring at the wall opposite me. *Something is wrong, something out of place. . . on any other morning I'd be in bed with mommy, after Pop has left for work. . . but mommy is not in bed.* My door is closed, but I can hear voices, a lot of voices on the other side in the living room. They are hushed, and I can't make out any words, just strained, worried sounds. . . *. is someone crying? . . . Why is George out there? He never wakes up this early. . . . something is . . . Pop is dead. I'm not getting up. . . I'm not getting out of the bed or moving at all. As long as I stay here and don't go out there he's not dead, it's still part of last night and I've just gone to bed first. . . they just haven't gone to bed yet. I'll just stay here and things won't change.*

I shuffle down the hall and the living room opens out in front of me. Faces turn and expand and fill the space. My mom is all red..."Oh, Josie . . . there's something I have to tell you. . ."

> CONRAD-George Fredrik, on Dec. 14 Born in Kaiserslautern, Germany. Chief Engineer, Coronado Ferries. Survived by wife, Mary Rita, two sons and one daughter. Services at Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Coronado, 10:00 AM.

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"Whew, hee, hee, hee. Whew, hee, hee, hee. Whew, hee, hee, hee." The pain is rising up from the base of my abdomen, rising and taking me with it. I try to resist, to stand my ground, but it's useless. Quickly, in rapid succession, nothing, nothing, then screams, arms flying, mouth foaming, eyes rolling, dry heaves. . . ok, ok, it's over again.

"Her blood pressure is going up; let's get her to lie down."

"Nooo. Please, it hurts too much to lie down!"

Before I'm fully supine, the pushing starts and the pressure is relieved. Push, push, push, hurt, hurt. . . and then. . . emptiness, relief. . . and a tiny cry.

A wet mass is placed on my breasts. Placental blood is caked on his hair, but his eyes are bright and he is perfect. . . *but where did he come from. . .* ? *Can it be possible that this beautiful creature caused so much pain?*

PETRABORG— Conrad Fredril, on May 15,12:20 PM at Alta Bates Hospital, to parents Guy Petraborg and JoAnn Conrad of Berkeley.

A circle is closed. I try to understand what love is, how it shapes the ones it touches. I know that there is an intimacy I shared with Conrad, and for me, part of it is shaped by the physical link I alone have with his creation and initial nurturing. But does this mean that his father cannot access this intimacy, or that Conrad even reciprocates it? How does that reconcile with my own bonding with my father, however short-lived? No, . . . I think motherhood provides access to such feelings, but they are not immediate or necessarily forthcoming. Does a child experience love differently? Is it dependency? Does it derive from a need for pleasurable experiences? What constitutes an utterly un-selfconscious love? And can the pain of separation ever not be implicit in such emotions?

u:''–

OK, now the lights are out, and we're finally winding down. Why do they portray going to bed as such a quick process in the movies? The mom and dad just come in, tuck their kid in, kiss him goodnight and close the door. No hysterics, no crying. . . what planet does that happen on? Lying down and talking to Conrad once he has settled down is so much fun. . . it makes me feel guilty at the same time because I can like him so easily in these non-trying times. God, I wonder how many parents actually lie down with their four-year-old kids... and fall asleep with them? Maybe it's a big conspiracy. . . everybody does and nobody admits to it. It's like the TV versions of delivery. . . women looking radiant—yeah, right.

"Hold still, you wiggle-worm!" He still fits neatly into the curve of my body when we lie together. I have my head resting on his outstretched arm in a gesture that seems almost paternal on his part. I really want to be quiet, I want to fall asleep this way, even though I'm supposed to get him to sleep and go out and do some work. But he wants to tell stories. He wants to keep this going, afraid of going to sleep. Is he afraid of this transition to the unknown? Or is he just trying to test the limits imposed on him, to see how set they really are? Oh man, this fat cat Fred is back on the bed between my legs. . . . Now I'm pinned in between him and Conrad. I can feel my neck twisted in an unnatural and uncomfortable position and I want to move, but fear my movement will get Conrad worked up again. . . . I'll have a crick in my neck in the morning.

"Turn on the light, mommy."
"No, I'm not turning the lights on, it's bedtime." "But I can't hear with the lights off. I need the lights on."

> Light comes into the bedroom from the living room beyond, faintly illuminating the forms and figures in the room. The lights from cars passing by in the street outside penetrate the space between the window frames and the shades, and large shards of light pierce the space and travel in circular patterns across the walls. The central bed, heaped with small figures and stuffed animals, is surrounded by the vestiges of day-time activities: art projects, clothes, clean and dirty intermixed and strewn about, puzzle pieces, books, ropes, balls, chairs, a small table. . . their indistinct shapes occasionally sharpened and given color by the lights from the street.
>
> I'm settled in under the covers of Conrad's double bed, lying on my side facing him. He is lying on his back, with his legs over the covers. He's still wiggling around and is physically engaged in the story telling. I like to watch his profile with the upturned nose and the full cheeks. I like the warmth his body gives up, and try to get closer to enjoy that, while not getting a stray arm or leg in the face. This warmth has gained Conrad a number of nicknames: "warm-bug," "heater," or, perversely, "the human worm." I luxuriate in his smell, my favorite aspect of our intimacy. . . . it smells of young skin, wet hair, light sweat, and faintly of soap. Later in the evening, after he has been asleep for some time, thrashing about in his bed, I'll tuck him in again, and the freshly-washed sweetness will have been replaced with a stronger scent, one that I much more emphatically associate with my son. The sweetness of my intimacy with Conrad, the luxury of his soft skin, shared conversation and baby smell is heightened by its fleetingness.

This is the final act of a regularly enacted ritual that includes a bath, nude dancing, acrobatics on the bed, diapering under duress, putting on pjs, brushing teeth, drinking water, reading stories in bed, and finally, lights out with a long period of

talking and storytelling in the dark. The stories unfold slowly, interspersed with conversation about the day's routines. Initially the narratives are informed by cartoon figures and plots, but Conrad quickly begins to fill in with his own story lines, which open up aspects of the world of his thoughts that are otherwise unarticulated. He wants to tell these stories, partly because he wants not to go to sleep, but also because they are a means of communication for him. They are encoded messages for me to decipher, if I expend the effort to really listen to what he is saying.

I don't want to tell any stories. I just want to go to sleep.
I hope he tells me one soon.

"Hey mom, you know what?"
"What?"
"Ahmad got a Beetle-Man and him gonna share with me at school."
"Cool! So, why don't you tell me a story?"
"I don't know any stories. . . "
"Well you do. . . ."
"OK. One a time, [A]laddin, urn . . .Genie, and a who? Abo and what is that birdie name?"
"Yago?"
"And what is the green one's name?"
"Oh, I dunno . . . that bird?"
" Yeah."
"Oh, yeah, I dunno."
"Yes you do."
"No."
"You saw it afore."
"I know but I never knew the name."
"Why? It's Yago's mommy, really."
"Oh, OK."
"Her talk to Yago. The mommy. . . "

Conrad slows down here, pauses, and then speeds up, and delivers the following in a much quicker, louder and more assertive tone.

"And Yago have the daddy and a mommy. Cause, after, um, Yago didn't have a mommy and a daddy. . . ?
" Yeah?"
(said as if crying himself)"Him be crying."
"Yeah. . . ?" (sympathetically).
"And after him have a mommy and a daddy. . . him said, 'yeah! yeah! yeah!'." (Conrad's arms are raised over his head, and he jubilantly shouts.)

Oh God! He's stressing over the transitions, anxious about our separations. We try to squeeze in too much. . . school, jobs, commitments. . . there is no time to do anything as a family. Our schedule is erratic. No wonder he is telling these stories, no wonder he drags out going to bed. It may be our only set routine, and he exercises some control over the situation. But isn't he doing more than that. . . it's too easy to say he's anxious. . . he's trying to get a grip on the whole thing. . . his relationship with us, with the rest of the world. . .trying to figure out how he fits in to all of this. It is just ego gratification to dismiss this as separation anxiety. . . do kids really depend on us as much as we want them to? He's dealing with the conflicting emotions of dependence and independence. His stories reflect this. Having us around is not always so great.

Conrad sighs.
"Tell me a story. . . hmm . . . my story is short." "It's good though."
"One upon a time a snake came, and got [A]laddin on him back. And Yago and. . . ate all the other guys. . . (smacks his lips and pretends to eat for ten seconds). And when [A]laddin got all the way to him face, the snake ate him. And Princess Jasemin came up, *"shweh"*, the snake. . . . Hey, what is that moving? The house is moving. . . ."
"Really? I didn't feel anything. . . "
"I feel it moving. (Big sigh) And then her, Princess Jasemin came all the way to him face, 'swish,

> also). Then them went back home. And then the school was open and it was fixed. And then the
> Gargoyles came back and saw it was fixed and they wrecked it again. That's it."

Here I am trying to resolve my contradictory feelings towards Conrad, and it looks as if he is trying to do the same thing. He is trying to balance his feelings of dependency and love with those of a desire to be independent and to extend his social sphere beyond just us. In the first story school is a good place. The kids are sad when they can't get in, and happy when they can get in to play-without the teachers. This is wish fulfillment, freedom within a safe, familiar environment. The second story complicates the vision of school. School is the site of the most traumatic transition and separation on a routine basis. It is the separation from me that Conrad loathes, not the social interaction at school. Seen as the source of this separation anxiety, school is therefore the logical target of some pretty heavy aggression, and a desire to see the source of the enforced separation eliminated—permanently.

> "Mom, when did you get married?"
> "Oh, a long time ago."
> "Well I don't want you to be married."
> "Why not?"
> "Because when you're married you talk with one voice, you're one person."
> "No, honey, I'm always mommy. What do you want?"
> "I want there to be mommy, and daddy and Conrad."

Although I know that I can't grasp the full intention of his statement, the depth and profundity of them strike me, undermining my initial musings on his stories and exposing my patronizing attitudes towards his narratives in reducing them to such simplistic, formulaic interpretations. Conrad recognizes human complexity and the complexity of human relations. His articulation of this perception in turn sharpens my own. His desire not to be subsumed into a unifying experience or relationship echoes the attempt to interject complexity into ethnographic

description, to eschew essentializing, simplifying accounts and analyses.

> "OK, it's time to go to sleep now. Turn over and go to sleep."
> "I want you to sleep with me."
> *Another separation, compounded with being scared of the dark. I hate the separation as well and would rather stay in bed with him, but I feel that I should have him go to sleep by himself. Am I afraid of the closeness, or am I following the dictates of society that assigns a certain stigma to a mother-son relationship perceived to be too close. I want to rebel, to act as my impulses direct, but something gnaws at me that he is too old, that the long term consequences are not good. Why? I turn over and close my eyes. Conrad turns towards me, press his face up to mine and kisses me.*
> "Good night, mom."
> "Good night, Boo-boo. I love you."
> "I love you too."

T T T

Conrad and I began telling stories to each other naturally. These stories were in addition to and quite separate from reading books. The stories were often in collaboration, and at the very least provoked response, criticism, and correction. They were dynamic and tended to revolve around everyday events, retold in dramatic, exaggerated form. For a long time, my interest in these stories was entirely personal: I liked to encourage Conrad's ability as a storyteller, I physically preferred to tell or listen to a story rather than read one, and it gave us a special context of shared intimacy. I began to become intellectually interested in Conrad's stories during my investigations into the various theories on the formation and transmission of folk and personal narratives. Was there a deeper structure inherent in narratives that could be seen to have parallels in children's own stories, in the same way that deeper language structure was inferred in the processes of first language acquisition? Would it be possible to extrapolate, as Botvin and Sutton-Smith have

suggested, narrative structure from children's narratives? Contrary to the expectations embedded in these questions, however, in the course of our storytelling events it became obvious that both thematically and structurally Conrad's narratives were already quite formalized, and that extrapolating a deeper, inherent narrative structure from those of an as yet "uncontaminated" or "pure" narrative form of a child was an exercise with a flawed premise. What did emerge, as the writing and analysis of the project unfolded, was that embedded in such small, specific narratives and their telling was a much more complicated macro-narrative: the mother-son relationship. There are many stories within stories.

Michel Foucault has claimed that the "author function" serves to disperse simultaneous, plural selves, which exist nonhierarchically (112-13). In this experimental and impressionistic piece, both the subject and the object are multiple and shifting, and in the shifting of voice and the laminations of time we discover an erasure of the boundaries inscribed by the categories themselves. Subject and object are not only multiple, they are constantly invoked and intertwined, and as their sensibilities unfold in patches and chunks of scenes and variations in texture, so the reader is drawn into these sensibilities. In this manner interiority flows from exteriority; the reader breaking through the opacity of the individual narratives into a reality to which she has only partial access.

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THE STATE OF PLAY:
A REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE

Julia C. Bishop

A conference on "The State of Play: Perspectives on Children's Oral Culture" took place at the University of Sheffield, England, organised by the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition in collaboration with the Folklore Society. It was a truly international gathering with speakers from Australia, Israel, North America, and several countries, as well as from all corners of the British Isles.

We were privileged to have Dr. Iona Opie as guest of honour and our opening speaker. She described how she and her husband, Peter, had become interested in children's oral tradition and how they approached their work. In typically modest vein, she stressed that neither of them had any academic training, the onset of the Second World War precluding the possibility of attending university at the time. Their total commitment to their chosen field, however, had undoubtedly been an inspiration to many in the audience.

There were also five keynote addresses during the conference. June Factor spoke on "Three Myths about Children's Folklore," Gwenda Davey discussed continuity and change in Australian children's traditional play, and Simon Lichman illustrated the way in which the Traditional Creativity Through the Schools project used the study of children's folklore and family traditions to help bring together the Arab and Jewish communities in Israel. Allison James, approaching children's playas a social anthropologist, discussed children's oral communication strategies in the negotiation of identity, while John Widdowson highlighted the importance of the informal language used in the playground for the acquisition of the formal linguistic skills taught in the classroom.

In addition, there was a plethora of stimulating papers on such topics as the effects of the physical environment on imaginative play and games, the influence of the media on playground games, children's story telling, historical aspects of the study of play, and children's music.

The conference seems to have stimulated communication among researchers around the world concerned with children's oral culture. It is hoped that a selection of the conference papers will be published in the near future. To obtain future information on this, please contact the organisers at the address below, or join the e-mail distribution list by contacting Julia Bishop (j.c. bishop@sheffield.ac.uk).

National Centre for English Cultural Tradition
University of Sheffield
Sheffield S10 2TN
UK

Tel: 0114-222-6296 (main office)
0114-222-0229 (direct line)

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award) for the best undergraduate or graduate student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition.

Papers must by typed, double-spaced, and on white paper. On the first page include the author's name, academic address, home address, and telephone numbers. Deadline for each year's competition is March 1st.

Submit papers or write for more information:
Dr. C.W. Sullivan III, English Department, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353.

Broadview Press announces the publication of ***Burning Brightly: New Light on Old Tales Told Today*** by Kay Stone (Children's Folklore Section member) and ***Folk and Fairy Tales 2/e*** edited by Martin Hallett and Barbara Karasek.

Burning Brightly examines the storytelling revival throughout North America and discusses the hundreds of local groups and centers springing up and the story telling that has become an important part of training for librarians. Stone explores story telling through the storytellers themselves and provides commentary from her own background as a storyteller.

Folk and Fairy Tales 2/e is an anthology designed to provide a solid foundation for courses in Children's Literature, Folklore, and the Literature of Fantasy.

For additional information or examination copies, write: Broadview Press, 3576 California Road, Orchard Park, NY 14127 or Broadview Press, PO Box 1243, Peterborough, ON K9J 7H5, CANADA.

The University Press of Kentucky announces the publication of ***An Appalachian Mother Goose*** by James Still, illustrations by Paul Brett Johnson. Still begins the book with an explanation of how the Mother Goose rhymes evolved in the Appalachian

region and then provides variations of familiar and unfamiliar Mother Goose rhymes as well as some rhymes native to the region. Still is also the author of other children's books, *Way Down Yonder on Troublesome Creek* and *Jack and the Wonder Beans*, and a number of books of poetry.

For additional information, contact Leila Salisbury, Publicity, University Press of Kentucky, 663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, KY 40508-4008.

Children's Folklore Section member, Director of the Dominican College Storytelling program, and internationally-known storyteller Ruth Stotter announces the publication of ***The Golden Axe and Other Tales of Compassion and Greed***. These stories are variations of Tale Type 480, "The Kind and Unkind Girl," from all over the world, retold by Stotter. There are 27 stories in full text, 17 summaries of additional tales, additional summaries, lists of additional citations and picture books, and a great deal of other material as well.

For additional information, contact Ruth Stotter, 2244 Vistazo East, Tiburon, CA 94920.

CONTRIBUTORS

JoAnn Conrad is a PhD student in Folklore/Cultural Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Drawn to the unseen, everyday folklore that shapes perceptions, beliefs, and a particular view of "reality," her research often involves the intersecting currents of Childhood and Folklore: how such perceptions trickle down into policies concerning childhood and education, i.e., the politicization and socialization of Childhood; and also the very construction of Childhood as it is informed by folklore and commonly held beliefs and attitudes. She is the author of "Stranger Danger: Defending Innocence, Denying Responsibility," forthcoming in an issue of *Contemporary Legend.*

Bjørg Kjær, born in Copenhagen, is a Danish folklorist and PhD student at Odense University's Centre for Contemporary Culture. He received an MA in 1994 with a major in folklore and a minor in rhetoric; his thesis dealt with different approaches to childhood and how these approaches are narrated and negotiated. Employed as a research fellow at the University of Copenhagen to study youth problems in the city, Kjær produced an article, "Marginalization Processes, Youth Problems, Culture and Ethnicity," in *Contemporary Folklore: Changing World View and Tradition,* edited by Mare Koiva, Institute of Estonian Language & Estonian Museum of Literature, 1996.

Derek Van Rheenen is currently a Lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley, where he recently earned his PhD in interdisciplinary studies. He teaches coursework on sport, culture, and education. A former professional athlete, Van Rheenen's interests include children's folklore and gender studies with a particular emphasis on traditional games and modern sport.

The *Children's Folklore Review* is available only to members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society. To become a member, send $10.00 yearly dues ($15.00 for non-US members) to Joseph Edgette, 509 Academy Road, Glenolden, P A 19036. Please make checks payable to "AFS Children's Folklore Section."

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Carolina University Greenville,
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